FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

JUNE 3 1916

PROGRAM

NUMBER

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Woman's Party Convention

Blackstone Theater, Chicago, Illinois

June 5, 6, 7, 1916

Saturday, June 3

10 a. m.—10. p. m.

Credentials Committee will be at Office Headquarters, Michigan Boulevard Building, Michigan Avenue and Washington Street

Sunday, June 4

10 a. m.—10 p. m.

Credentials Committee will be at Office Headquarters, Michigan Boulevard Building, Michigan Avenue and Washington Street

Monday, June 5

9. a. m.—3 p. m.

Credentials Committee will be at Convention Headquarters, Blackstone Theater

4 p. m.

Reception by Illinois Congressional Union at Convention Headquarters, Blackstone Theater

8. p. m.

Convention called to order
Address by Miss Maud Younger, California, Temporary Chairman of the Convention
Report of Credentials Committee
Adoption of Program
Election of Permanent Chairman
Formation of Committees

SPEAKERS:

Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, California
Miss Lucy Burns, District of Columbia

Tuesday, June 6

10 a. m.

Meeting of Committees, Convention Headquarters, Blackstone Theater

2 p. m.

Reports of Committees
Adoption of Platform
Election of Campaign Committees
Reports of Political Situation in Suffrage States

8. p. m.

Conclusion of Convention Business

Wednesday, June 7

12 m. Luncheon, Auditorium Hotel

SPEAKERS:

Miss Helen Keller, Massachusetts
Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, New York
Mrs. W. D. Ascough, Connecticut
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, New Jersey
Mrs. William Kent, California

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Hearing before Republican Convention

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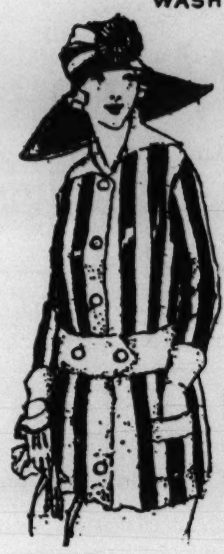

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VOL. IV, No. 23

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
Lafayette, Square, Washington, D. C.

JUNE 3, 1916

Notes of the Week

Power of the Woman's Vote

SINCE 91 of the 531 votes in the electoral college come from equal suffrage states, the equal suffrage states may easily determine the outcome of the presidential election. It will be remembered that President Harrison had a majority of only 85 electoral votes, Cleveland only 37, and Garfield but 59, says Anna Cadogan Etz, in the *Up-State Press.*

Vote Denied Porto Rican Women

ON may 22, when one of the Administration's favorite projects, citizenship for Porto Ricans, was being discussed in the House, an amendment giving the women of Porto Rico the right to vote with the men in any election held on the island was offered by Minority Leader Mann, of Illinois. The amendment was passed by the House on two votes on that day and defeated the next as a bill in itself.

The Porto Rican voting law as it now stands does not say, specifically, that only men shall vote. The amendment offered by Representative Jones, of Virginia, to take the place of this section was very plain in its provision that women shall not vote.

The equal suffrage amendment offered by Mr. Mann read:

After the word "citizen," insert the words "without regard to sex"; and before the word "citizens" strike out the word "male."

Upon being urged to speak upon the amendment, Mr. Mann said:

"Mr. Chairman, I do not particularly desire to take the time to discuss the woman-suffrage amendment, the equal-suffrage amendment, which I offered. It has been discussed all over the country. If there is anyone in this House who is not familiar with it, he ought not to be here."

Mr. Jones' objection, that "he did not wish to force woman suffrage upon the people of Porto Rica, who have not asked for it," was answered by Mr. Keating's statement that the 160,000 men who will be disfranchised by the property and education qualifications in the bill have not been consulted concerning their wishes on the subject.

Mr. Mann closed the debate, saying that women of Porto Rica who pass the qualifications required of men should certainly be allowed the franchise.

The vote was then taken on the amendment to perfect the text, which passed by a vote of 65 to 33. The amendment to Mr. Jones' amendment was also passed, 51 to 36.

Mr. Jones' amendment with Mr. Mann's equal suffrage amendment, and the Porto Rican bill as a whole went over until next day, when the amendment was defeated by a vote of 59 to 80. There was no roll call, but the voting was on strict party lines, the Democrats opposing and the Republicans favoring it.

The bill as a whole was passed, but upon motion of Mr. Jones to reconsider, was laid upon the table. Mr. Jones evidently wishes an opportunity to offer again his original amendment, directly prohibiting women citizens from voting.

The Congress which says it cannot enfranchise women because it is a national matter refuses to enfranchise women in the lands directly subject to its control.

Roosevelt Receives Suffrage Reminder

COLONEL ROOSEVELT was gracefully reminded on his last visit to Detroit of the Susan B. Anthony amendment for equal suffrage, to which he has already promised his support.

Two representatives of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, Mme. A. G. Boynton and little six-year-old Emily Grimes, were the first people out of thousands to be introduced to him at a mass meeting held in one of Detroit's largest hotels. Mme. Boynton gave the Colonel a letter thanking him for his whole-hearted endorsement of national woman suffrage, and little Miss Grimes presented a huge bouquet of flowers in the colors of the Union, purple, white and yellow, saying, "Lots of little girls' mothers want to vote."

The Colonel, with his characteristic "Delighted to meet the little Miss Grimes," picked the child, flowers and all, up in his arms and thanked her for the bouquet.

The best care was taken of the flowers all afternoon, a member of the Colonel's bodyguard of committeemen being delegated to look out for them; the last seen of them was when they disappeared behind the former president into his headquarters, the Detroit Athletic Club.

Women's Clubs Endorse Suffrage

THIRTY-THREE State Federation of Women's Clubs, in addition to the General Federation, have lined up back of the demand for votes for women. Club women represent the thinking earnest women of every community. They have tried introducing reforms without the vote and evidently want a more effective tool to work with than "indirect influence."

State Bars Women Clerks

ON May 25, by a ruling handed down by the Supreme Court of the State of North Carolina, women are denied the right of holding office as deputy clerks to the Superior Court. Under the ruling no more women can be appointed to this office and a number holding this position will be dismissed. Four of the five justices concurred in the opinion, the Chief Justice dissenting.

Democrats Name Fifteen Women

FIFTEEN women have been elected delegates to the Democratic national convention at St. Louis. Kansas, California and Washington have chosen four women delegates each, Arizona has chosen one and Wyoming two.

Wilson Presses New Defense Bill

WITH the approval of the President, Representative James Hay, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, introduced in the House on May 23 a military defense bill creating a "council of executive information to further the mobilization of the country's resources for possible war."

The council is to be composed of members of the Cabinet, who shall have as an advisory committee seven persons who are recognized as experts in various lines of industry.

Representative Hay said the bill was an administration measure "upon which the President desires a prompt action." It probably will be reported without delay by the Committee on Military Affairs, and, if necessary, a special rule will be invoked to expedite its passage.

Indicating the plans for an immediate formation of the council is the provision that $200,000 for expenses shall be "immediately available."

Congress, while blocking the equal suffrage amendment, is creating rules to expedite favored legislation and asking that a large amount of money collected by taxing women as well as men be appropriated to provide for the execution of this legislation.

Legislation to be Rushed

THE largest budget for the national defense ever submitted to Congress in a single measure was presented to the House May 25, when Chairman Padgett, of the House Naval Committee, reported the naval appropriation bill. The bill carries a total of $241,000,000.

Majority Leader Kitchin announced the day before its presentation to the House that a special rule would be brought in under which the measure will be passed not later than June 3d.

"The Democratic leaders," says the *Washington Post* of May 25, "intend to have this bill through the House so they can refer to it in their party platform as concrete evidence that the Democratic party is for preparedness."

Democrats can make a much more effective platform by saying that they have given women a voice as to how their taxes are to be spent than by pointing out how they had directed its expenditure.

English Women's Taxes to be Increased

THE English House of Commons unanimously agreed on May 23 to vote a credit for $1,500,000,000, with which to carry on the war. This is the eleventh vote of credit asked by the government since the war began and brings the total up to $11,910,000,000.

This frightful debt, which is to be paid by England's men and women together, will be one of the chief reasons why the government will lose no time in conferring upon them equally with men a voice in the government.

Comments of

The Woman's Vote in the Next Election

TWENTY-TWO Senators and forty members of the House of Representatives go to Washington from eleven states where women equally with men vote for members of the upper and lower houses of Congress.

A study of the congressional elections in the 29 districts of those 11 states since 1896, 301 cases in all, has brought out the fact that not one of these 29 districts has been carried steadily by the Democratic party, and only five of them have been held during that period in the Republican column.

In many of these congressional districts the vote is consistently close, so that little concentrated effort would be needed to direct the election as the woman voters choose.

For the congressional elections the same situation prevails. Women, equally with men, vote for members of the upper and lower houses of Congress in eleven states. Twenty-two Senators and forty members of the House of Representatives come from these states to Washington.

In these states eleven congressional districts have elected Representatives but twice. In the remaining twenty-nine districts since 1896 (301 cases in all) not one of these districts was carried steadily by the Democratic party, and only five of them were held during that period in the Republican column.

Not only are the suffrage states doubtful, but a small turn-over of votes could have altered the election results.

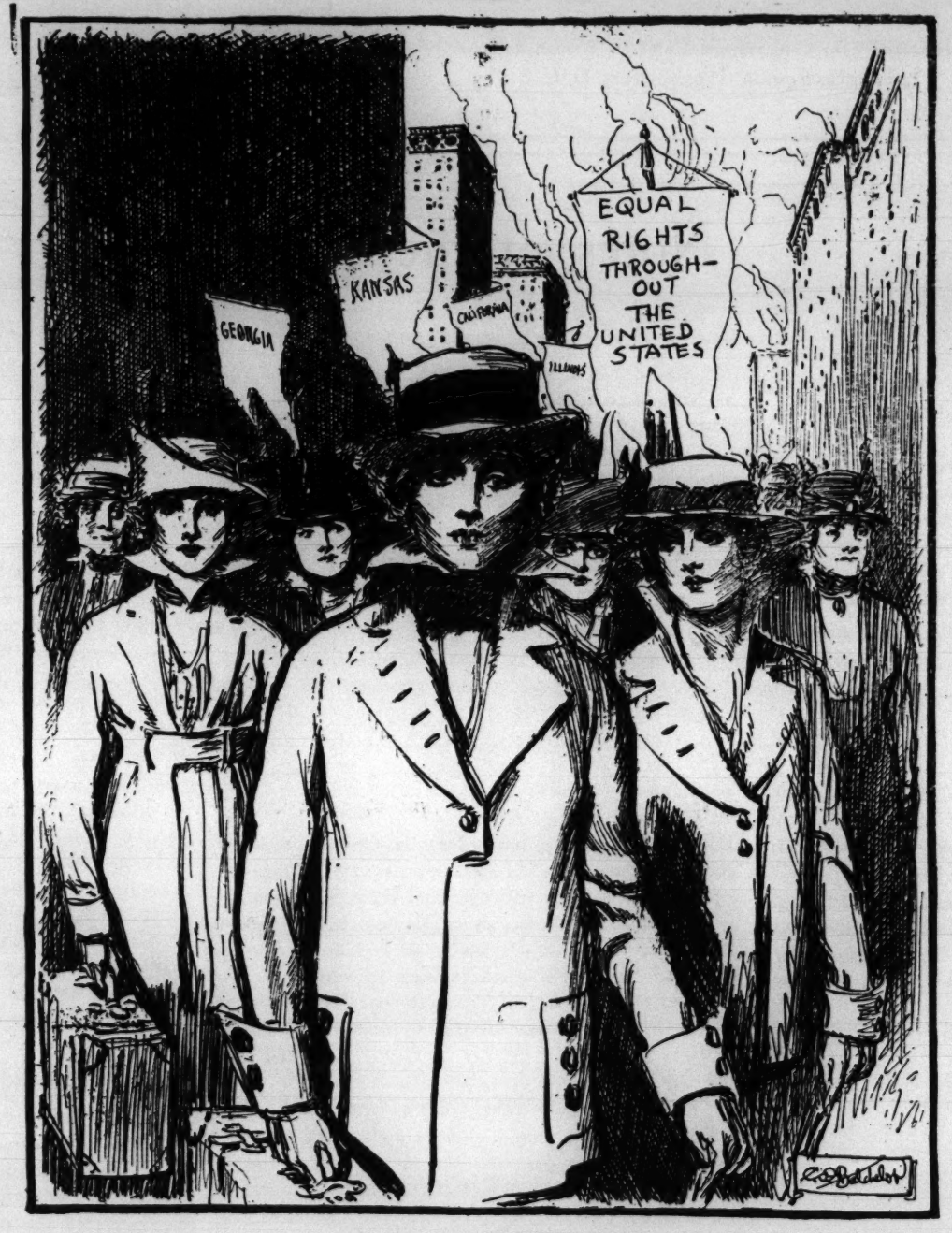
In all the presidential elections in the free states since 1896, for instance, the average change of votes needed to throw the election to the other party was 9 per cent of the total vote cast. In 1912 none of the equal suffrage states would have required a change of more than 7.8 per cent of the total vote to swing the presidential election in that state.

In the congressional elections since 1896 six elections have been carried by a majority of less than 80 votes; 28 by a majority of less than 500; 17 by a majority of between 500 and 1,000. In 223 of these 301 elections less than 10 per cent of the total votes cast would have sufficed to change the result.

Even a small group of women, determined to stand out for the long-delayed enfranchisement of their sex throughout the nation, can form the balance of power and can demand and secure the immediate passage through Congress of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.—*Seattle (Washington) Star, May* 1, 1916.

The Welcome Invasion

THE women throughout the country are keenly alive to the possibilities of winning full national equal rights this year. A wave of enthusiasm for the justness of their cause is being created through a series of demonstrations which can-



Chicago Evening American, May 25, 1916

The Welcome Invasion

not fail to enlist new thousands in the ranks of "votes for women." Today the women are ready to take their "equal" place in the great preparedness parade in Chicago June 3.

Today the women throughout the country are turning their eyes toward Chicago for the "welcome invasion" of the Congressional Union—the woman's party meet which opens June 5. And already the delegates are arranging to be here by the thousands for the big suffrage parade of June 7. . . . .

The climax of the suffrage spirit bids fair to be reached in Chicago and the ultimate result should mark 1916 as the year which brought equal rights throughout the United States because of the marvelous outpouring of public sentiment centered in Chicago.—*Chicago Evening American, May* 25, 1916.

The Congressional Union and Politicians

TWENTY-ONE members of the Congressional Union, the woman suffrage organization which demands national enfranchisement, have passed through Chicago and are coming westward.

The equal suffragists now have in the twelve suffrage states of the Union about four million women voters. If the Congressional Union can mobilize even 10 per cent of the women's votes in these twelve states, pledged to make national equal suffrage the dominant issue, coupled with a demand on all political parties to "fix it or fight," each of these states will instantly be placed in the doubtful column—a fact that will be very impressive to all political fence-builders.

It will be interesting to watch the tergiversations of the political managers at the national conventions next summer. If the Congressional Union succeeds in lining up a large part of their four million voters for their "fix it or fight" program, the political managers of the two old parties, at least, will probably perspire freely, no matter what the weather conditions may be.

The politicians also will easily recognize another fact—the fact that the equal suffrage movement has at last, and in a manner, become militant!

The women are no longer begging for the ballot. They are demanding it!

Through the long years of their novitiate they have gradually created a literature, trained a large number of accomplished platform speakers, captured twelve states, developed an infectious enthusiasm and, to-day, are carrying with them a confidence born of conscious and cumulative success!—*Los Angeles (California) Herald, April* 20, 1916.

Inconsistent

SENATOR BORAH continues to denounce the proposed Susan B. Anthony constitutional amendment providing for national woman suffrage, and in his speeches and letters makes his position, and the reasons for his position exceedingly clear. He favors woman suffrage, he says, but thinks it is a matter to be settled by individual states, and not by a change in the constitution of the nation.

On prohibition his position is exactly the reverse. He favors a national prohibition law, and would take from the hands of the states the duty of enforcing statutes against the liquor traffic.

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Fewer rights are left to the individual states as the years pass, but it would seem that if anything is to be preserved to them it might well be the regulation of morals and the handling of the drink question.

The privilege of the ballot, however, which is used for the election of president, senators and congressmen who are supposed to control the destiny of the country, would seem to be a more fitting thing for national limitation and regulation than the sale of intoxicants. * * * *Boise (Idaho) Daily Statesman.*

Women at the Door of Congress

EVEN if the women suffragists who have pooled their energies under the Congressional Union for the federal propaganda despaired of getting congress to consider a federal suffrage law at this session, there would still be purpose in their widespread activities. For there are the great political conventions and platforms to influence.

Mrs. Marjory Whittemore returns from the western propaganda tour with assurances that the west is alive to woman's suffrage. That great body of political sentiment, already invested with the ballot, cannot fail to impress the Chicago and the St. Louis conventions. It is not improbable that the Chicago convention will indorse woman's suffrage, nor is it impossible that both parties will adopt the women.

Meanwhile, there is still a chance for congressional action. For the Democratic congress, heroic though it may wish to appear in death, may not be able to forego the opportunity to prevent a landslide of western women voters into the Republican ranks by itself enfranchising women by federal act.

The federal quest is the only logical course for the women at this time. It was by a federal law that universal manhood suffrage was attained. It was by a federal law that the Indian, the Negro, the Chinaman was enfranchised. And it will be by a federal law that the women are enfranchised, whether now, or later.—*Detroit Journal, May* 17, 1916.

To Launch New Woman's Party

WHEN the Republicans and the Progressives meet in their annual conventions in Chicago the week of June 5, they will have a new rival. From the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage has gone forth a call to the Woman's Party convention to be held in Chicago June 5, 6 and 7, the purpose of which is "to launch a Woman's Party which will work independently of all existing political organizations to secure the immediate passage of the national suffrage amendment."

This party, it is claimed, will represent four million women in twelve states where women may vote for president. These states control ninety-one electoral votes and one-third of the votes necessary to elect a president.

These states, too, says the Union, are doubtful states; in the last five presidential elections not one of them, it is declared, has gone steadily for one party. "By putting suffrage first and party affiliations second," says the Union, "women can make the suffrage issue a deciding factor in the next presidential campaign."

The Union does not claim that it has "got" the votes of the four million women.

"We have not got them," it says. "It is far from necessary to attempt such a project, as any politician knows. Elections are usually won by narrow margins; and a comparatively small group united on a great issue can be counted on to alter the result of the average election."—*The Survey, May* 27, 1916.

The Suffrage Amendment Issue

WOMAN suffrage is likely to play an important part in the coming presidential campaign. * * * The advocates of the constitutional amendment method of extending the franchise to women * * * are demanding a constitutional amendment as the direct means of enfranchisement. Such an amendment, if adopted by a two-thirds' vote of the two houses of Congress, would retain its vitality until finally ratified. A vote to ratify by a state legislature is not subject to reconsideration, whereas a negative vote can be reconsidered subsequently. A state constitutional amendment must usually be passed by a two-thirds' vote of the legislature, sometimes twice over, and must then be submitted to a referendum of the male voters of the state.

It is expected that if the Anthony amendment is adopted by Congress the eleven suffrage states, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming and also Illinois, which has partial suffrage, would ratify this at once. Favorable action is also hoped for in fifteen states in which the legislatures have recently voted to refer the question to the people or where the voters have by initiative petition called for a referendum. If ratification is secured from these twenty-seven states it will be necessary to obtain the assent of only nine more, in which the suffragists contend that they have a fair chance for success.

Women now vote for President in twelve states, which control one-fifth of the electoral college and cast one-third of the votes necessary to elect the President. All of these states are reckoned as politically doubtful territory, and thus the advocates of the Anthony amendment believe that they hold a balance of power in the presidential campaign as well as the campaign for House and Senate. Their appeal for action at the presidential convention, voiced at the Chicago meeting of June 5, 6 and 7, is likely, therefore, to be regarded with considerable respect, especially as present indications are that recently formed issues will cause a material realignment of political groups and classes.—*Washington, D. C., Star, May* 29, 1916.

Chicago Firms Assist Woman's Party Convention

IT is a pleasure to acknowledge the great generosity of Chicago firms to the managers of the Woman's Party Convention.

The John Colby Furniture Company loaned handsome furnishings for the Office Headquarters and beautiful stage furniture for the Convention Headquarters.

The Peterson Nursery and Mr. George Witboldt gave magnificent floral decorations for use on June 5, 6, and 7.

Suffragists throughout the country are deeply grateful for this generous kindness.

E. MUSHINA

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Women Voters at the Convention

Miss Faun Lorenz -
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Miss Ella J. Abeel
Chicago, Ill.

Judge Mary M. Bartelme
Chicago, Ill.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, by Sentors Sutherland, Thomas and Thompson.

In the House, on December 6, by Repsentatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, January 8, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

Present Status

In the Senate, on the calendar, awaiting action.

In the House, before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editor.....Miss Lucy Burns
Assistant Editor.....Miss Joy Young
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Why a Woman's Party?

THE idea of a Woman's Party has been announced throughout the West, and has taken deep root there.

A convention has assembled to attend to the formation of a Woman's Party, adopt a platform, and plan, in grim earnest, a program of practical work.

The time is ripe for such a move; more than four million women can vote already in national elections.

Yet there are still women who say, "Why form a Woman's Party?"

"Why NOT form a Woman's Party?" says the Congressional Union.

When so great a number of women vote, what is more natural than they should organize their strength to secure the enfranchisement of women throughout the nation?

Voting women realize, with a keenness born of their own political experience, that they themselves are not fully enfranchised while the women of thirty-six states are disfranchised.

They do not form part of a national electorate, and cannot have their due share of influence on the deliberations of Congress.

ONLY recently the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives gave a hearing to the advocates of a federal amendment proposing uniform divorce laws.

The Judiciary Committee has twenty-one members; two of these twenty-one members represent states where women vote. None of the other members are responsible to women or feel it their business to execute the wishes of women.

Yet it is clear that if there is to be national legislation on the question of divorce, women must have equal influence with men in advancing and shaping it.

ENFRANCHISED women believe in political freedom for women; believe in it deeply.

They feel the political situation of women to be almost ludicrously unjust.

A woman fit to vote in the West, loses her right to full citizenship if she crosses a state line.

But American men and women do not reside steadily on one spot of ground; they move freely from place to place in pursuit of business and family interests.

It is absurd that a great population of four million people should be subject to enfranchisement and disfranchisement, through no fault of their own, within the borders of the United States.

LINCOLN said long ago, "No nation can exist half bond and half free." Women declare to-day that they WILL not exist half bond and half free. If half of any section of our people—half the Germans, we will say; half the Catholics; half the locomotive engineers—were to be disfranchised, what would the other half do? They would organize, and promptly!—knowing well that their own rights would not be adequately protected while half of their number were deprived of political power.

Women too are organizing; and have determined that they will not return to power a party that has denied them justice.

Putting Their Issue First

Reprinted from the Washington (D. C.) "Times," May 20, 1916.

BY putting suffrage first and party affiliations second, women can make the national suffrage issue a political factor in the next Presidential election, is the claim of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. An analysis of the situation shows there is ground for the claim.

The so-called "free" States (as the suffragists describe the equal suffrage States) are in the doubtful column. Of the twelve States where women now vote for President the election returns show not one of them has gone steadily for any one party during the last five Presidential elections. It is noteworthy that these twelve States control nearly one-fifth of the Electoral College and cast one-third of the votes necessary to elect a President.

A similar situation exists in the Congressional elections. In eleven States women have equal power with men to elect members of the Senate and House of Representatives. These States send twenty-two Senators and forty members of the House to Washington. Since 1896 in twenty-nine Congressional districts in these suffrage States (over 300 cases in all), not one of them was carried steadily by the Democratic party and only five of them were held during that period in the Republican column.

The records show not only these facts, but that a small turn-over of votes in any of these States could have reversed the election results. In all the Presidential elections in the suffrage States since 1896 the average change of votes needed to throw the election to the other party was 9 per cent of the total vote cast. Election returns show that in 1912 none of the equal suffrage States would have required a change of more than 7.8 per cent to swing the Presidential election to the other party. In the Congressional elections since 1896 six elections have been carried by a majority of less than 80 votes; 28 by a majority of less than 500; 17 by a majority of between 500 and 1,000; in 223 of these 301 elections a change of less than 10 per cent of the total votes cast would have reversed the result.

It is apparent that a small group of women in these States, determined to make suffrage the paramount issue, irrespective of their party affiliations, ready to throw their votes against the party unfriendly to suffrage, can be a determining factor in the next election in their States.

The suffrage envoys who have recently returned from their campaign through the Western States, affirm that groups of women there not only can but will hold themselves in readiness to form a balance of power. It is not a theory, but an actual condition that confronts the politicians. The woman's party, which holds its convention in June in Chicago, under the auspices of the Congressional Union, is not a fantastic dream of sex solidarity, but a practical political influence, a balance of power movement, which is a factor in national politics and must be reckoned with.

Women Voters Enlist in the Woman's Party

LOCAL politicians are beginning to predict that the proposed Woman's Party, sponsored by the Congressional Union, will be able to hold its own in the State of Illinois, so remarkable has been the interest of both men and women in this political fledgling. The new headquarters in the Michigan Boulevard Building are kept busy night and day by women of all parties anxious to enlist under the non-partisan banner of the party that has announced its intention of putting suffrage first.

Mrs. John R. Bensley, membership chairman for the Congressional Union in the State of Illinois, announces that since the opening of the campaign headquarters nearly four hundred women have declared their intention of putting suffrage above party affiliations until the Susan B. Anthony amendment is passed. Women of all parties are among the leaders who are actively working to line up the necessary 10,000 women who will become a powerful factor in Illinois politics. Mrs. Joanna Downes is appealing to Democratic women; Mrs. Harold Ickes to Progressive women; Miss Alice Pischel to Socialist women, and Mrs. Bensley herself to Republican women. Women of the working committees of the Union are undertaking to interest those of their own profession; Mrs. Helen McMillan, of the Presbyterian Hospital, speaking for nurses; Dr. Frances Dan, osteopaths; Dr. Lyndsay Wynekoop, doctors; Mrs. Gertrude Blackwelder, President of the Chicago College Club, college women; Mrs. Pauline Palmer, artists; Judge Mary Bartelme, lawyers, and Miss Florence Holbrook, teachers.

The names of accredited delegates are coming in by the hundred. Names of women representing forty states have been received at headquarters within the last four days.

Miss Virginia Arnold, of Portland, Oregon, has just arrived in Chicago, and is in charge of the "Suffrage First" luncheon, to be given at the Auditorium Hotel the second day of the convention. One thousand women will be seated at this big affair. Each table of ten will be decorated with a hat filled with flowers of the Union colors, and encircled by a ring of smilax. A committee of fifty Chicago women is assisting Miss Arnold in arranging the details of this luncheon; many tables have already been reserved. The following patronesses have been named for the luncheon. Miss Ella J. Abeel, Mrs. Charles A. Blanchard, Mrs. Fanny Bloomfield-Zeisler, Mrs. Jean Ellis Driver, Mrs. O. L. Fox, Mrs. Maurice Goodkind, Miss Alice Henkle, Miss Florence Holbrook, Mrs. Bayard Holmes, Miss Sara Nadine Jones, Mrs. Charles W. Kayser, Mrs. Robert Kohlhammer, Mrs. Fred Lorenz, Mrs. Glidden Osborne, Mrs. Pauline Palmer, Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, Mrs. H. M. Wilmarth and Mrs. A. E. Halstead.

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker has charge of the convention program. Among the convention speakers are: Mrs. Sara Bard Field, of California, Miss Lucy Burns, of New York, Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, Miss Helen Keller, Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, of California, Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada, Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, of California, Mrs. H. S. Haire, of Montana, Mrs. Wallace Williams, of Washington (State), and other notable women.

A great chorus of two hundred surpliced women, singing suffrage and national hymns, and wearing surplices of purple, white and gold will be a feature of the final meeting on the evening of the seventh at the Blackstone theatre, where all sessions of the convention are to be held. At this meeting, for the first time at the convention, men will speak for the Woman's Party, several figures of the old-line parties dealing with suffrage as a political issue.

Delegations from the Illinois labor unions will represent organized women at the Woman's Party convention. While organized labor endorses no party, labor women as individuals are ready to place suffrage first. Miss Vivian Pierce, of California, is speaking before Chicago unions and at organized factories and shops at noon, and is being assisted by many of the leaders of the Woman's Trade Union League of Chicago, who, as individuals, believe in the policy of the Congressional Union. Among

Wax Figure in Carson Pire & Scott's Window, State Street, Chicago, Advertising the Woman's Party Convention

those assisting in reaching organized women are Mary McInerny, secretary of the Bindery Women's Union; Mrs. Mary B. Trainer, of the Elevated Road Clerks' Union; Miss Mae Richley, and Miss Katharine Finnegan, who is one of the most forceful speakers among the organized women of Chicago. Miss Alice Pischel, a prominent member of the Socialist Party of Chicago, is also addressing organized women during the noon hour. Miss Pischel is one of the state factory inspectors of Illinois, and is giving all of her spare time to bringing the policy of the Union before labor women.

Under the direction of Mrs. A. C. Muhse, hundreds of women are daily being reached at meetings of all kinds, from clubs and recreation meetings to religious and political gatherings. There are few meetings which do not net new enthusiasts and volunteers for the national suffrage cause. Miss Doris Stevens, who is in charge of the conventions meetings at the Blackstone Theater, spoke May 26 at the beautiful Riverside home of Mrs. Avery Coonley. The meeting was arranged by Mrs. Coonley, assisted by a local committee of five. The audience, drawn from one of Chicago's most beautiful suburbs, were received in the attractive miniature playhouse on the Coonley estate.

Miss Ruth Astor Noyes this week spoke in the first congressional district at the home of Mrs. Martha Anderson; Mrs. Muhse and Mrs. John R. Bensley at a neighborhood meeting at the Forestville School; Miss Ella Abeel and Miss Elsie Hill at the Woman's Peach Party dinner; Miss Hill at the Federation of High School Teachers; Mrs. Muhse at the Chicago College Club; Miss Beasly and Miss Vivian Pierce at the Eleanor Club II; Mrs. Muhse at the New Jerusalem Church; Miss Alice Henkle and Mrs. John R. Bensley at a neighborhood meeting at the home of Mrs. Wyatt; Miss Abeel and Miss Doris Stevens at the home of Mrs. N. H. Henkle; Miss Hill and Mrs. Josephine Kempt Linton at the home of Dr. Mary A. Brown Girard; Miss Mable Vernon at the Columbian School of Music; Miss Vivian Pierce at the Frederick Douglas Center; Miss Beasley and Mrs. Muhse at the Brownley Club; Mrs. Muhse at the home of Mrs. Walter D. Jones; Mrs. Muhse at the conference of Jewish Women's Organizations; Mrs. Josephine Kempt Linton at the home of Mrs. T. S. Robertson; Miss Margaret Whittemore at the home of Mrs. Madeline Watson and at Eleanor Club No. 4; Miss Gertrude Beasley at Eleanor Club III, Mrs. M. Austin Stanley at the home of Mrs. Maybelle Lindolph, President of the South Side W. C. T. U.; Miss Mabel Vernon at the Independent German-American Women's League; Miss Vivian Pierce at the Olivet Baptist Church.

The following meetings have been scheduled by Mrs. Muhse: Mrs. W. D. Ascough at the Eastern Star of Illinois; Miss Frances Frothingham and Miss Elsie Hill at a Sunday mass meeting at Garfield Park Refectory; Mrs. Muhse at Sinai Center Jewish Society; Miss Hill at North Shore Congregational Church; Mrs. Muhse at Buenna Memorial Church; Eleanor Club IV, Miss Margaret Whittemore; Woodlawn Baptist Church, Mrs. P. L. Dunham; Third Ward Woman's Republican Club, Mrs. W. D. Ascough; Chicago Press Writer's Club, Mrs. Muhse; Eleanor Club V, Mrs. Josephine Kempt Linton; Chicago Single Tax Club, Miss Mabel Vernon; Terminal Hall, Mrs. P. E. Goold; John Marshall School, Dr. Caroline Wynekoop; Twenty-first Ward Woman's Club, Mrs. E. C. Braun; home of Mrs. L. B. Miller, Mrs. Albert C. Muhse.

Under the direction of Miss Mabel Vernon, street meetings are being held every noon and every evening in many parts of Chicago. Miss Vernon's team of speakers and "Suffragist" sellers are Miss Elsie Hill, Miss Carolyn Jacobson, Miss Anna Bolen, Mrs. P. L. Dunham, Miss Katherine Finnegan, Miss Vivian Pierce, Miss Ruth Astor Noyes and Miss Alice Henkle.

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment in 1916

THERE are now in the United States over four million women who can vote in national elections.

Women are enfranchised in twelve states, controlling ninety-one electoral votes—more than one-third of the number necessary to elect a President of the United States.

All the states in which women vote are "doubtful" states. Not one of them has gone steadily for any one party in the last five presidential elections. In all of the equal suffrage states during the past five presidential elections, a turn-over of nine per cent of the total vote cast would have altered the result of the election and thrown the victory to the other party.

What does this prove? It proves that a comparatively small number of women who will put the issue of political freedom for women above loyalty to party and will chose between parties on the suffrage issue next November can, if necessary, hold the balance of power in the next presidential election and determine who shall be President of the United States for the next four years.

THE federal suffrage amendment reads:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

This amendment was drafted by Susan B. Anthony in 1875. It was introduced in the Senate in 1878. It has been introduced in every Congress since that time and has received the unwavering support of every suffrage association in America.

THERE are two ways of winning suffrage for American women: one by amending the Constitution of every state in the Union, and one by amending the Constitution of the United States. Either way is equally proper and constitutional under the laws of our state and national governments.

The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage prefers to work by the method of amending the United States Constitution, because this method is easier and quicker.

It is clearly easier to amend one national Constitution than to amend all the constitutions of the thirty-seven "unfree states."

An amendment to the Constitution of the United States must first be passed through Congress by a two-thirds' majority of the Senate and House of Representatives.

An amendment to the state constitutions must be passed, usually, by a two-thirds' majority in two successive legislatures; that would have to be done in thirty-seven states.

A national amendment must be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures; a simple majority vote suffices to ratify.

A state amendment must be ratified in each state by vote of the male electorate. This would require, before suffrage could be gained nationally, the submission of the question of woman suffrage to the entire voting population of the United States.

It is next to impossible for women to carry on a campaign of education covering all the men of the United States, and to get the vote in their favor registered and counted. The entire machinery of government is in the hands of political parties, almost always strongly opposed to the principle of woman suffrage. It is easy for a party to roll up an "organization vote" against woman suffrage and still entirely escape responsibility for doing so.

IN some states it is almost impossible to amend the constitution. New Mexico has recently adopted a constitution in which the provision exists that it cannot be amended for twenty-five years. In Vermont an amendment, if defeated, cannot be reintroduced for ten years. In New Jersey a defeated amendment cannot be reintroduced for five years. In Illinois only one constitutional amendment can be submitted to the people at a given election; and in this state it is said to be the custom of politicians to submit a stock amendment to the people, so as to forestall the consideration of any other amendment. In Kentucky and Indiana only two amendments, and in Arkansas only three, can be submitted to the people at a given election. The suffrage amendment was recently passed by a two-thirds' vote of the Senate and House of Arkansas, but three other amendments were passed before the final vote on the suffrage measure was taken, so that the entire legislative work of getting the amendment submitted will have to be repeated by Arkansas women. In Minnesota a suffrage amendment must secure a majority of the votes cast at the election. This means that if one hundred thousand votes were cast for President of the United States and fifty thousand votes were cast on the suffrage amendment, forty-nine thousand for it and one thousand against it, the suffrage amendment would lose, the votes not cast on the suffrage amendment being counted as against it. This makes it almost impossible to amend the constitution of Minnesota at all. The same provision exists in the constitution of the state of North Dakota.

Under these conditions it would be unwise for women to embark upon the program of amending the constitution of all the states one after another.

THE issue of national woman suffrage, always just, has now become politically expedient.

Four million women participating in national elections can demand and secure from national political leaders favorable action on the federal suffrage amendment in the present session.

The women of the entire nation are turning to the women of the west asking for their powerful aid in establishing freedom for women throughout the United States. It is a magnificent opportunity for western women to liberate at a stroke the women of the United States and to establish political freedom throughout America. The coming out of the United States for equal suffrage will be a signal for the nations of the world to adopt it. No moment could be more fitting for such an act than the present, when a great war has shown the close connection of the happiness of women with national destiny and the necessity of women's co-operation in the work of the nation for the nation's success in peace or war. The European war has been the final argument for the principle of equal suffrage in national affairs. Before the war closes, the United States, which advocates as a nation the right of the people to say whether or not they shall embark in war, should give its own people, women as well as men, the right of decision in such grave crises.

"Failure is Impossible"

Susan B. Anthony, who Drafted the Famous Amendment now Bearing Her Name

At last the moment has come when it is possible to put into execution the plan which Susan B. Anthony, with wonderful vision, outlined as long ago as 1872.

"My view of our true position," said Miss Anthony, "is to hold ourselves as a balance of power to give aid and comfort to any party which shall inscribe on its banners 'Freedom to Women.'

"If I am a Republican or a Liberal or a Democrat, *per se*, and work for that party—right or wrong—then I make myself and my co-workers no added power for or against the one which adopts or rejects our claim for recognition. I do not expect any *man* to see and act with me here, but I do not understand how any *woman* can do otherwise than to refuse to accept any party which ignores her sex."

And again she said:

"If all the suffragists of the United States could see eye to eye on this point, and stand shoulder to shoulder against every party and politician not fully and unequivocally committed to 'Equal Rights for Women,' we would become at once a moral balance of power which could not fail to compel the party of the highest intelligence to proclaim Woman Suffrage as the chief plank in its platform. 'In Union Alone There is Strength.' Until that good day comes I shall continue to invoke the party in power, and each party struggling to get into power, to pledge itself to the emancipation of our enslaved half of the people; and I, in turn, promise to do all a 'subject' can do for the success of a party which thus declares its purpose to 'undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free.'"

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Miss Marie A. Swift	5.00
Miss Margaret Rogers	2.00
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Miss Dorothy Ficken	2.00
Mrs. Mark Hollingsworth	25.00
Sale of tickets	97.00
Membership fees	82.75
Collection	39.75
Total	$1,001.50
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	137,642.39
Total collected through May 29, 1916	$138,643.89

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5,000 New Subscribers

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers for "The Suffragist"

(In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

MAY 22 THROUGH MAY 27

Miss Margery Gibson Ross	3
Mrs. E. C. Thompson	5
Mrs. C. L. Parmalee	1
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Mrs. Sydney Walters	1
Milford Branch, Congressional Union	1
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe	3
Mrs. Lansing Stebbins	1
Mrs. Frank C. Payne	2
Massachusetts Branch, Congressional Union	1
Total	44
Previously acknowledged in "THE SUFFRAGIST"	2,965

Total through May 27th secured by members 3,009

The Suffragist Bookshelf

THIS department is organized for the purpose of putting before our readers some good books on the suffrage question, current events and recent fiction. While all the books on this subject cannot be listed we will at all times be glad to fill your order for any book published. Suffragists are urged to purchase their books through *The Suffragist Book Service.* You pay no more—often less—than if you purchased from a bookseller, and *The Suffragist* gets the benefit. In remitting remember that the price given includes postage.

The Heart of Blackstone, Nanette B. Paul, L.L.B.	**$1.00**
What Women Have Done with the Vote, J. Ackermann	**.80**
Woman's Part in Government, W. H. Allen	**1.60**
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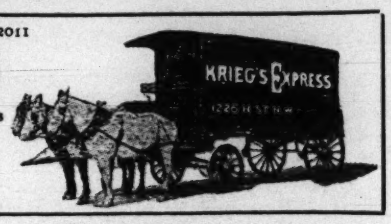

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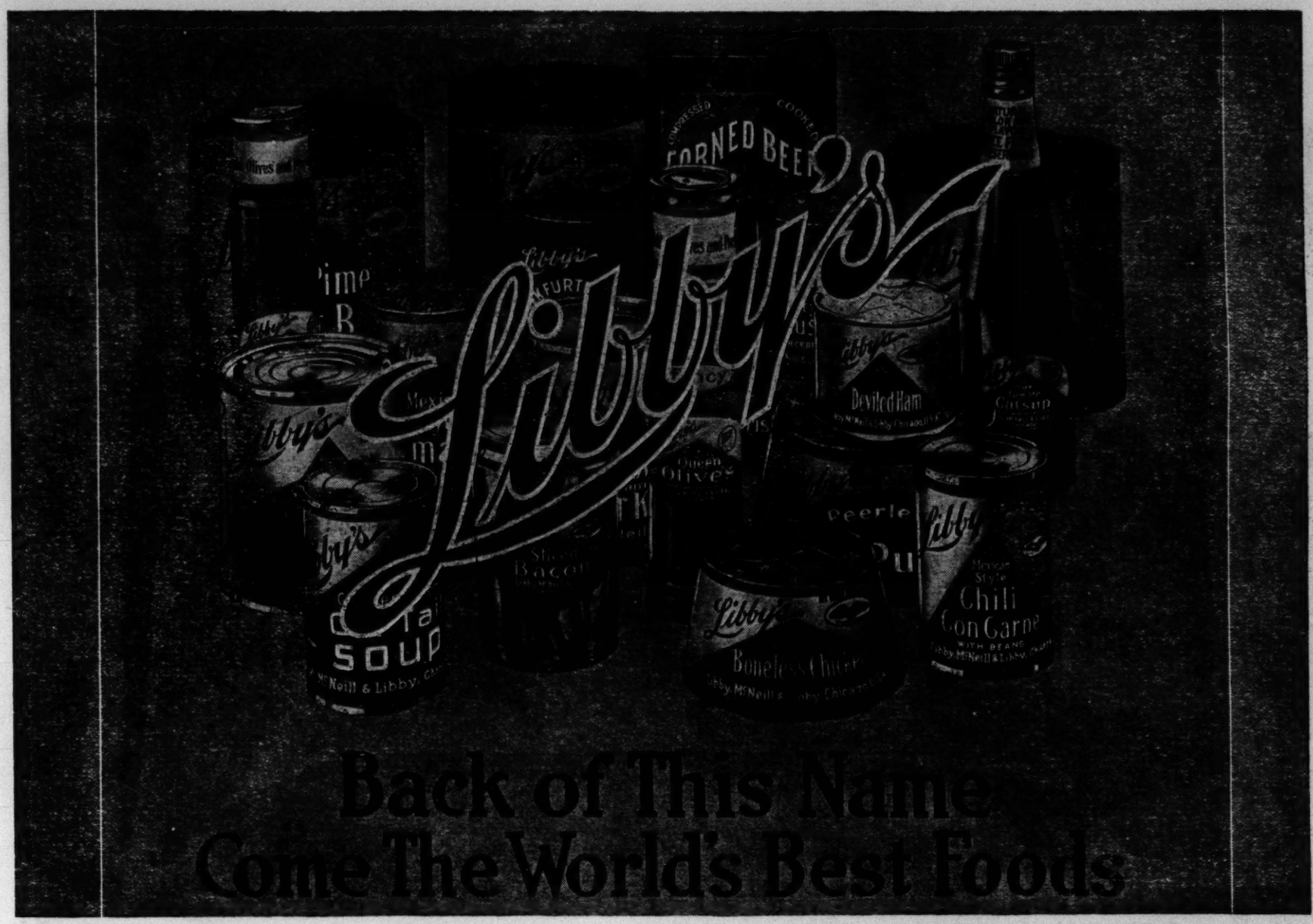

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